

## Chapter Four

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### COLD WAR I BLACK DEEDS

The famine-genocide campaign of the 1930s leaned heavily on materials — often fraudulent — traceable to right-wing, anti-Soviet sources. Mainstream historians did not accept the fabrications of the extreme right.<sup>1</sup> In fact, so dubious was this thesis to contemporary historians, that some Ukrainian Nationalists and Cold War scholars claim that the "famine-genocide" has been either ignored or deliberately concealed in some form of pro-Soviet, left-wing, or even Jewish conspiracy.<sup>2</sup>

Rooted in the pro-Nazi and conservative opinion climates of the 1930s, the famine-genocide issue was exhumed during the Cold War of the 1950s. The McCarthy period witnessed not only a resurgence of the lunatic right, but its alliance with the post-war wave of Ukrainian Nationalists who had fled Ukraine with the retreating Germans. An anti-communist marriage of convenience took place between the American ultra-right and Ukrainian Nationalists, sections of whom had collaborated with the Nazis. These now required new clothes and a cover story for past activities, while the Cold War promoters could point to such people as "living witnesses of the communist menace facing humanity."

A number of books were published by Ukrainian Nationalists, not only to ingratiate themselves with their new Western political allies, but also to propagate their interpretations of history among the Western public. Typical of the Cold War style of famine-genocide allegations is *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin*.<sup>3</sup> Published in 1953 and 1955, this two-volume set is yet another weapon in the Nationalists' arsenal of apologetics and cover stories. Despite the admission in its preface to being "motley" and "uneven," *Black Deeds* is used as resource and reference material for the current generation of famine-genocide campaigners.

The publishers of the volumes — SUZERO and DOBRUS respectively — give an indication of its blatant lack of objectivity. SUZERO is the so-called Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, while DOBRUS stands for the equally wordy Democratic Organization of Ukrainians Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime in USA. Both groups are affiliated to the World Federation of Ukrainian Former Political Prisoners and Victims of the Soviet Regime. Of some relevance here may be the observations noted in the U.S.

Congressional Record of the 1948 debate on the Displaced Persons Bill: "No doubt every one of them [former East European collaborators of Nazi occupation during the war] now bears a new name, passes [himself] off as a martyr of Soviet oppression, and answers to all the specifications of a 'political refugee.' "4

Included in Volume I is a special section devoted to Nationalist allegations of Soviet mass executions during the 1930s in Vynnitsya. Unearthed in 1943 during the Nazi occupation, the graves were "examined" by a Nazi-appointed "commission" and were featured in Nazi propaganda films.<sup>5</sup> Among the *Black Deeds* writers in this section is Petro Pavlovich. Described in a photo caption as "the chief witness of the mass murder at Vynnitsya," Pavlovich also testified before a U.S. Congressional Commission on Communist Aggression in 1953. However, missing from his contributions to the U.S. Cold War Commission and *Black Deeds* is the violent pro-Nazism, anti-semitism and worship of Hitler which characterized his original account in *Zlochyn U Vinnytsya* (Crimes in Vynnitsya).<sup>6</sup>

Written under his earlier name of Apollon Trembovetskyj, *Zlochyn U Vinnytsya* was published with Nazi authorization in 10,000 copies. An enthusiastic Nazi collaborator, Pavlovich/Trembovetskyj was editor of *Vinnytski Visti* in German-occupied Vynnitsya. The preface to *Zlochyn U Vinnytsya* betrays its author's intention — and that of the propaganda exercise as a whole — to rally support for sagging Nazi war fortunes:

Let [the massacre] strongly unite our people with the mighty strength of Germany, the liberator of Ukraine, let it unite [us] in the cruel and merciless struggle with the terrible enemy of mankind — Bolshevism.<sup>7</sup>

The book's appeal for support for the Nazis is indicative of the degree of Nationalist collaboration, then into its third year. By 1943 the Nazis had caused the death or transport for slave labor of millions of Ukrainians; still the Nationalists' appeals continued. Proclaiming Hitler "the great humanitarian and Savior," Trembovetskyj urges: "Only by hard work and our lives will we be able to repay our debt to Hitler, and defeat Judeo-communism."<sup>8</sup>

*Zlochyn U Vinnytsya* is riddled with anti-semitic slurs. Trembovetskyj calls upon Ukrainians to be steeled "in the greater and cruel struggle against Jew-communism" and refers to "Stalin the Jewish moron" and "Stalin and his Jewish government." In a section entitled "Jews and the NKVD," Trembovetskyj specifically blames Jews for the alleged 1930s massacres.<sup>9</sup>

Post-war testimony of German soldiers, however, exposes the unearthing of mass graves at Vynnitsya as a Nazi propaganda deception.

Ап. ТРЕМБОВЕЦЬКИЙ

Мученикам-українцям, які, безвинно загинули в катіннях Вінницького НКВД, присвячує автор свою працю.

# ЗЛОЧИН — У ВІННИЦІ



ВІННИЦЯ

1943

хній загинув за проповідь цієї ж самої правди від руки цих же самих юдеїв.

Одного разу хотім ці ж самі юдеї побити Христа камінням за те, що він говорив їм правду. І осявсь до них Ісус:

„Бгато добрих діл Я показав вам од Отця Мого; за яке з тих діл б'єте мене камінням? (Іоанн, 10, ст. 32). Чи може за те, що Я виводив воду з каміння і напував вас, чи за те, що годував вас манною і перемелами, чи може за те, що хворих зціляв, мертвих воскрешав?..

Отже ви, мої дорогі сини, встаньте зараз і запитайте подібно до Христа цього кровожерного катя, „батька всіх трудящих“—Сталіна, за яке з тих добрих діл, що ми за життя своє зробили для тебе і твоїх жидів, ти нас так тяжко скатував? Чи може за те, що, не розгніваючи спини, працювали ми на каторжних колгоспних ланах, впровадючи дорядку пішечницю, щоб твої жидаї на сабах і пейсах мали смачну булку, чи може за те, що, заливаючи потом свої очі, працювали на буржах, щоб твої юдеї мали солодощі, чи може за те, що випестували найкращу худобу для смачного бульйону і котлет „советському дворянству“, чи може за те, що в інкубаторах виводили мильйони птичі та яєць для вас же, чи може за те, що, відкриваючи від рота у своїх дітей молоко, переробляли на масло для „члва парадського“?

Скажи, кате, скажи, чого мовчиш? Мовчить кат, бо знає, що загинули вони за те саме, за що загинув Христос: за Правду за те, що вони уміли відрізати темряву від світла і світло від темряви, добро від зла. І таким людям, ясно, не було місця в СССР. Згідно з „батьківською конституцією“ вони мусіли йти в ці страшні могили.

Нема сили, нема розуму, щоб обнеславляти цих катів. Любі мої! 20. липня минає два роки з того дня, коли місто Вінниця було злинене німецьким наїском від більшовиків, від пролиття крові і сль, від каторги. В цей день ми повинні особливо бути вдячні за своє визволення. Якби він, цей кат, ще цих два роки пробув на Україні, то, безсумнівно, цей вселенський сад був би устелений нашими трупами і мільйони нових трупів нашого народу були б закопані по всіх лаших містах України.

І милосердний Господь, почувши наші благання, наш плач і сльози дітей наших, послав посланника свого для нашого визволення в особі Фюрера Великонімецьки Адольфа Гітлера, який урятував наше життя, утер сльози нам і нашим дітям, припинив пролиття безвинної нашої крові.

За наше визволення ми завжди мусимо бути вдячні великому німецькому народові і його волам. Ми повинні йти разом з ними в одному єднанні, ми повинні чесно, одностайно і односердно виконувати волю Фюрера, віддаючи свою працю і, навіть коли це треба, то і життя своє для блага всього людства і свого народу.

Ліше так ми доб'ємось найкращої і остаточної перемоги над безвірництвом і антихристиянством—юдо-комунізмом.

Title page of *Zlochyn U Vinnytsya*, a 1943 Ukrainian Nationalist account of the unearthing of the Vynnytsya graves. Page 46 (in part) lauds: "Hitler the great humanitarian and savior. Only by hard work and our lives will we be able to repay our debt to Hitler, and defeat Judeo-communism."



Pro-Nazi clergy Bishop Yevlohiy and Archbishop Hrihory at the Vynnitsya graves opening. Bishop Yevlohiy stated: "The Lord God had mercy on us and sent us for our salvation the praiseworthy hands of the German people and their chief Adolph Hitler. We all must come to the aid of the German people and with honest work and devoted heart hasten the victory over Bolshevism."

According to Israel's authoritative *Yad Washem Studies*, Oberleutnant Erwin Bingel testified that on September 22, 1941, he witnessed the mass execution of Jews by the SS and Ukrainian militia. This included a slaughter carried out by Ukrainian auxiliaries in Vynnitsya Park, where Bingel witnessed "layer upon layer" of corpses buried. Returning to Vynnitsya later in the war, Bingel read of the experts brought in by the Nazis to examine the exhumed graves of "Soviet" execution victims in the same park. Upon personal verification, Bingel concluded that the "discovery" had been staged for Nazi propaganda purposes and that the number of corpses he saw corresponded to those slaughtered by Ukrainian fascists in 1941.<sup>10</sup>

Illustrating the Vynnitsya section of *Black Deeds* is a photograph of Ukrainian Orthodox Church Bishop Yevlohiy at the opening of the graves in 1943. Following funeral rites for the victims, writes Trembovetskyj in *Zlochyn U Vinnytsya*, Bishop Yevlohiy stated:

The Lord God had mercy on us and sent to us for our salvation the praiseworthy hands of the German people and their chief Adolf Hitler. We must all come to the aid of the German people and with honest work and devoted hearts hasten the victory over Bolshevism.<sup>11</sup>

Overall, the editors of Volume I have gone to considerable pains to come up with pictorial documentation somehow relating to the book's lurid allegations. They have not succeeded — unless a cartoon of Stalin with the stereotypical facial physiognomy reminiscent of an earlier generation of anti-semitic artists can be considered evidence.<sup>12</sup> Aside from third-rate artwork, this volume is decorated with irrelevant drawings, portraits of fascist and pogromchik-government leaders, the inevitable undocumented photographs, and the following indicative farce:

Accompanying the article "Collective Farming" by one "P.V." is the usual undocumented photograph, in this case a group of peasants with horse-teams. The peasants, incidentally, all appear well-dressed in practical work clothes. P.V.'s powers of scientific observation enable him to state that, "all of them are barefoot and look wretched in their rags and tatters."<sup>13</sup> The description "rags and tatters" seems better applied to Nationalist levels of scholarship, since none of the peasants' feet are even visible in the photograph. In similar vein, there appears a photo of collective farmers — a "weeding team" — in which some of the women are smiling and laughing.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the "agency" which provided the political artwork was fresh out of pictures showing unhappy workers toiling in ragged undergarments.

Volume I also presents a handful of alleged 1932-1933 famine photos plagiarized from earlier historical periods. All are undocumented. Some

are stolen from 1921-1922 Russian famine publications. For example, "A little cannibal" appeared in "Information No. 22" (published by the International Committee for Russian Relief in 1922). That this photo was stolen from its 1922 source, and not from Ammende's *Human Life in Russia* (where it also appears), can be deduced from the following facts: Ammende gives his version the caption "Another Victim of the Famine"; in 1922, the photo was given the caption "Cannibal from Zaporozhe: has eaten his sister" — a parallel to the *Black Deeds*' "little cannibal."<sup>15</sup>

Other photos are taken from Nazi German publications of the 1930s. For example, the photo showing three men wearing First World War issue caps (p. 237), was first published in relation to 1930s claims, on August 18, 1933 in the Nazi party's official organ *Voelkischer Beobachter*.

Among those listed as generous donors toward the publication of *Black Deeds* is Fedir Fedorenko. Can this be the same Fedorenko deported from the United States and later convicted as a confessed Treblinka death camp guard?<sup>16</sup> Other donors include Anatol Bilotserkiwsky,<sup>17</sup> identified in several books as Anton Shpak, a former Ukrainian Nazi police officer in Bila Tserkva, Ukraine. Of this person, the Ukrainian writer M. Skrybnyak states: "According to documents and witness testimony, Anton Shpak and his like exterminated close to two thousand civilian residents in Bila Tserkva during the Nazi occupation. Most of the victims were Jews."<sup>18</sup> A surviving witness, I. Yevchuk, remembers:

When they were leading the Jews to where they were going to shoot them, a pretty young girl ran up to Shpak. "Oh come, Anton, what are you doing? Don't you remember we went to school together, you used to carry my bag?" She pleaded. "Shut up, you kike bitch," roared Shpak, raised his gun and shot the girl right in the face.<sup>19</sup>

On the same day, Yevchuk states, Shpak also killed Mordko B. Diener, his wife, and an old woman, Dworja Golostupetz.<sup>20</sup> Bilotserkiwsky (Shpak) identifies himself as a member of the World Federation of Ukrainian Former Political Prisoners of the Soviet Regime.<sup>21</sup> Had Shpak and others like him not escaped to the West, undoubtedly they would have become "Soviet prisoners" and stood trial for their crimes.

Among Volume I's famine writers with a Nazi collaborationist background is Oleksander Hay-Holowko.<sup>22</sup> This man was not only an SS-member, but also worked as a propagandist for a Ukrainian SS outfit. When the Nazis invaded Ukraine, Hay-Holowko served as "Minister of Propaganda" for the OUN-Nationalist clique in Lviv, whose brief reign of fascist terror was characterized by the slaughter of thousands of Jews by Ukrainian Nationalists.<sup>23</sup>

Subtitled "The Great Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933," Volume II of *Black Deeds* has impeccable McCarthy-era credentials, and what is more,



Bis zum Skelett abgemagert und vor Hunger gestorben



In Kleidern legt man die Toten auf die Straßen, damit sie von einem Sammelwagen abgeholt werden. Leichenfledderer stehlen ihnen die armseligen Kleider und verkaufen sie auf dem Markt gegen ein Stück fast ungenießbaren Brotes



## Die Blu Das

Immer mehr werden die Mordentwürfe gegen Sowjet bringen.

Mit aller das Bild Rußland a Herben der Jachen über.

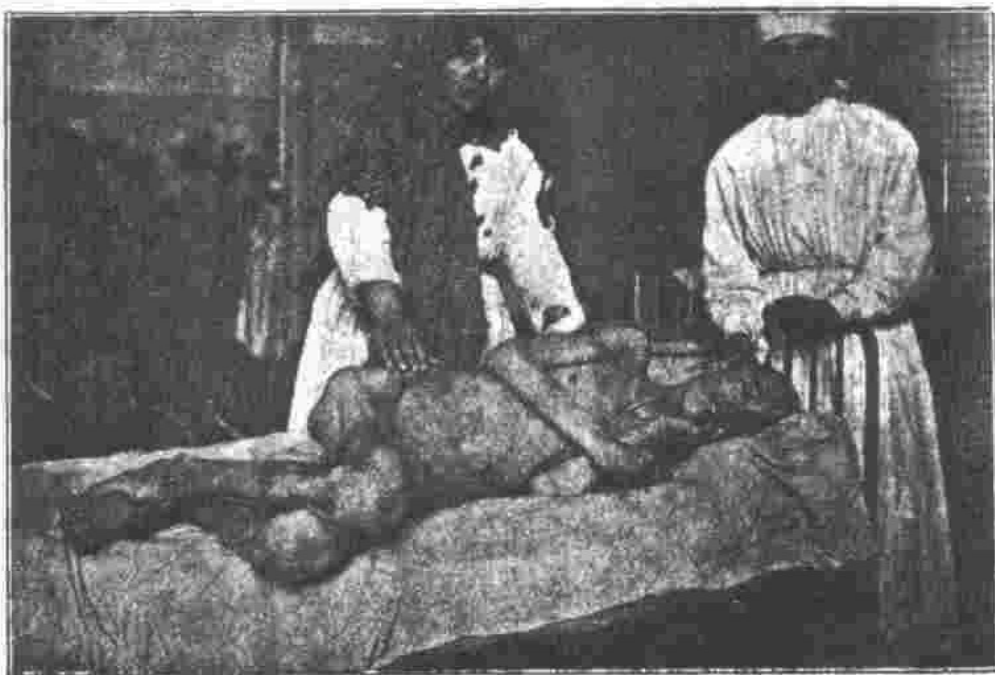
Das füglich regierung, das in Moskau es selbst durch Zug Glende im Räte blühend die Kosch sein Muske darf, um mal schlimmste neue kommen die Me sein ehemals o die zum Außerste Verzweiflung h fande gegen d erheben.

Während fünf soll mit unendl kommen in der

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The Nazi party organ *Voelkischer Beobachter*, August 18, 1933: photos from 1921-1922 are used to illustrate the 1933 famine. In 1935 these photos reappear in the anti-semitic propaganda book *Und Du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig* (reprinted in 1937). This book and Ammende's *Human Life in Russia* (1936) credit Fritz Ditloff as the photographer. Photos from this selection are also utilized by the following Ukrainian Nationalist books: *Black Deeds of the Kremlin* (1953, 1955); *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine* (1983); *The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust* (1983); and the so-called documentary film *Harvest of Despair* (1984).

When I visited Zaporozhe in the end of February, the deaths from starvation amounted already to 30 to 40 every day in each volost. The day I visited Kherson town (March 3rd, 1922), there were registered from the day before 42 deaths from starvation (20 adults, 22 children), and I was told that there might then be 100 cases a day. The town has about 20,000 inhabitants. In the town of Yekaterinoslav (160,000 inhabitants), about 80 persons daily are now dying from starvation. In the ooyezd of Taganrog in the month of February 642 cases of death from starvation were registered. It must also be remembered that hunger indirectly



Gangrene from hunger.

increases susceptibility to disease. Even diseases that under ordinary circumstances have only an insignificant percentage of mortality have now a very great one. For instance, measles is often followed by gangrene of the gums, passing into noma<sup>1</sup>, with more than 20 % mortality. Vaccinations lose much of their preserving capacity. The use of surrogates for food gives a great percentage of abdominal diseases; others, as for instance bread with apricot, are very poisonous with a mortality of 50 % very soon after eating. In connection with the use of meat from dead horses there are cases of glanders. In consequence of starvation especially among the adults a great many cases may also be observed of the swelling illness, that causes

<sup>1</sup>) Gangrene of the mouth.



provides evidence of the open political collusion between Ukrainian Nationalism and neo-fascist tendencies during the 1950s Cold War in the United States. The reader is informed that Volume I of *Black Deeds* was accepted as "evidence" by the House Committee on Communist Aggression, headed by the old Cold Warrior himself, Representative Charles H. Kersten of Wisconsin.<sup>24</sup> In turn, Rep. Kersten penned the violently anti-communist Introduction to the second volume of *Black Deeds*.<sup>25</sup>

In lieu of any documentation of the "illustrative material" used in Volume II, the reader is merely referred to the archives of SUZERO and DOBRUS, as well as to O. Kalynyk, author of the book, *Communism the Enemy of Mankind*, published by the youth organization of the OUN-Bandera.<sup>26</sup> The "illustrative materials" are all too familiar. Opening the first two pages of the book are nine Thomas Walker photographs and his partial accounts from the Hearst press of 1935. The remaining photographs — none of which are documented or credited — include ten from Ammende's *Human Life in Russia* (two of which were also used by Walker and another by *Voelkischer Beobachter*), one from the 1922 bulletin "Information No. 22," and a variety of Russian Civil War and 1922 Russian famine scenes.<sup>27</sup> For example, the photograph captioned "The Execution of Kurkuls [Kulaks]" (p. 155), shows four soldiers and an officer, apparently on burial detail. Unfortunately for the book's editors, the soldiers appear to be wearing Tsarist army uniforms — wrong army, wrong decade.

A particularly unsavoury aspect of Volume II is its gruesome allegations of cannibalism. In fact, Volume II has been called, rather unkindly but with some justification, a Ukrainian Nationalist cookbook. A series of "testimonial articles" bear titles like: We Ate Father; He Cooked His Dead Mother's Hand; He Ate His Wife; The Children Are There — In the Pot; First They Ate Their Own Family; A Mother Eats Her Child; She Turned Her Father Into Jellied Meat; and with a gourmet touch, Pasties of Human Flesh.<sup>28</sup>

While reading relics of the Cold War past can at times provide a rather perverse source of entertainment, *Black Deeds* has been used as "evidence" by various right-wing committees and authors, as well as to influence public opinion and policy. Though one doubts if *Black Deeds* was often (if ever) purchased by the general public, it has been supplied gratis to university and public libraries — this author has come across such "gifts," identified with stickers reading "with compliments of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee." Perhaps it is hoped that the unwary will be taken in.